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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2044

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18 August 1982

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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ALBANIA

NEED TO STRENGTHEN, ENFORCE FIRE PREVENTION MEASURES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Jul 82 p 2

[Announcement from the Fire Protection Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Excerpts] The drought and high temperatures which have continued for several days have created conditions for the outbreak and spread of fires, which could cause considerable damage to the people's economy. Therefore, it is essential to increase concern for and supervision of the implementation of fire prevention and protection measures. Attention should be concentrated on units of the petroleum and gas extraction and processing industries in which, because of the very nature of the work and the physical and chemical properties of the substances used, violations of the parameters of the technological process or of the established regulations have a serious effect on the lives of individuals and on the people's economy.

In the fuel storage units and in the stations where motor vehicles are supplied with fuel, under conditions of high temperatures vaporization is very great and the danger of fire is greater. Therefore, workers in the fuel depositories, drivers of tank trucks and sellers at distribution points have the task of monitoring the technical condition of the pumps, equipment, lines and electrical installations so that they are in order and so that there will not be any loss of fuel, defects and violations of technical conditions as happened in the fuel storage units in Gjirokaster, etc.

Investigations have revealed that there have been violations of the regulations on the storage of goods in the trade depositories in Lac, Milot and Berat, while in the trade depository in Permet, the electrical installations do not satisfy technical criteria.

Now that we are engaged in the harvesting and threshing of grains, everyone should be giving constant attention to the implementation of measures for protection against fires. But, these measures, in some cases, such as in Likesh in Durres, Dragot in Elbasan, Gjergjovine in Gramsh and Poshnje in Berat, etc., have not been complete and in accordance with established regulations.

CSO: 2100/74

ALBANIA

STRUGGLE AGAINST 'FACTIONALISTS' IN PARTY RECALLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Thimi Nika: "On the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Extraordinary Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] The Extraordinary Party Conference, which took place 40 years ago, on 28-29 June, in Tirana, constitutes a moment of vital importance in the struggle of our party to protect its steel-like ideological and organizational unity, at all times.

This Conference was held in circumstances which were very critical for the party. The enemy had launched a very fierce attack to crush and annihilate the party. The agent provocateur Ludovik Nikaj made this situation worse. As Comrade Enver wrote in his book "Kur lindi Partia" (Kujtime) [When the Party Was Born (Memoirs)], Nikaj "succeeded in penetrating into the ranks of the party and gave the fascists detailed and very important information on some of the major bases of our party in Tirana." On the basis of this information, the fascist terror and raids were intensified and a number of Communists were arrested and killed, including one of the most devoted members of the party, Qemal Stafa. At the same time, the hostile elements in the party, the factionalists A. Lula and S. Premte, intensified their divisive and sabotaging activity. They and their followers created in the party ranks an anti-party factionalist current with its own political platform and with organizational ties, based on the well-known liquidationist theses in regard to the impossibility of the armed struggle and of work with nationalists and peasants and mistrust of the anti-fascist alliance, especially, the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the struggle, led by the Bolshevik Party, headed by Stalin. Their aim was clear: to poison the pure blood of the party, to destroy the unity within its ranks.

Analyzing the events and circumstances, in order to draw lessons and duties for the future, the Central Committee of the party came to the conclusion, as Comrade Enver has said, that "this situation must be dealt a strong blow, immediately, because, if the poison is allowed to penetrate further, it will completely destroy the body of our young party." Therefore, the decision was made to convoke the Extraordinary Party Conference. There was only one issue on its agenda: the annihilation of the factionalist activity of A. Lula, S. Premte and their followers, in a manner which would strengthen the party and its ideological and organizational unity.

Before the conference, the party and Comrade Enver, in particular, had made a number of attempts to persuade Xhepi, Qorri and their followers, members of the former "Youth Group" to mend their ways and to abandon their factionalist liquidationist activity. But these attempts were unsuccessful because they were aware that they were on the road of treason and they followed it with determination.

At the conference, Comrade Enver exposed the factionalist activity, accusing, in particular, A. Lula and S. Premte and their companions, pointing out their danger to the party, especially in the historic circumstances affecting our country, at a time when the Antifascist National Liberation Movement was rapidly moving toward general revolution. The unity of revolutionary activity and thought was called the main condition of the well-being of the party. In order to ensure this unity and further strengthen the party it was decided to purge the party of the incorrigible factionalists, by expelling them immediately. As Comrade Enver said in the book "When the Party Was Born": "This conference proved that the party would not tolerate and would mercilessly combat any liquidationist factionalist element and activity in its ranks, just as it would mercilessly combat enemies of the people."

Early in July 1942, continuing the work of the Extraordinary Conference, a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was organized. At this meeting, on the basis of the analyses and conclusions of the Conference, examining, once more, the transgressions of A. Lula, S. Premte and their followers, the decision was made to exclude them from the party for an unspecified period.

The implementation of the decisions of the Extraordinary Conference and of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Party made our young party grow and become stronger from day to day, tempered its ranks in the struggle, augmented the ranks with new and pure blood, and extended the party throughout Albania.

The history of our party from the Extraordinary Conference up to the present shows the consistency with which it has fought for the unceasing strengthening of its ideological and organizational unity. Our party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has not allowed and will never allow the existence of two lines and of factions in the party or the absence of ideological and organizational unity in the party. It has attacked and crushed in time all enemies and traitors who have arisen in its ranks, from the A. Lula and S. Premte group to the hostile groups exposed and attacked during recent years.

The struggle of the party against these hostile groups constitutes a very valuable experience. In order to protect and strengthen party unity, it is necessary, as Comrade Enver has always said, that the political line and the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms contained in the Party Statute be implemented resolutely and in a revolutionary manner.

EDITORIALS ON DRAFT BILL FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONMAKING

Editorial in 'RABOTNICHESKO DELO'

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Vivid Expression of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The direct participation of the citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the discussion and decision of the more important questions of our socioeconomic and social development is a reflection of our socialist society's natural phenomena and processes; it is a vivid expression of our socialist democracy. These trends are expressed with still greater force in the draft Bill on Consultation with the People, published yesterday in the newspaper OTECHESTVEN FRONT [Fatherland Front], which delineates a new, still more democratic development of our social and legislative practice for further improvement of the political system in our country. It gives concrete formulations for realizing the great goal, set in the report of the 12th Party Congress and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the Ninth Fatherland Front Congress, of continuous development of direct democracy and of immediate participation of the people in the government of the country.

Consultation with the people makes possible, first and foremost, the direct participation of citizens in the discussion and decision of the more important questions within the competence of the National Assembly, the State Council and the people's councils. The new draft bill specifies that this vivid expression of popular democracy is to be conducted in the entire territory of the country, in the territory of the okrug, obshtina, rayon, and inhabited locality or part thereof. The consultation itself will take place by means of a discussion or referendum, with the discussion conducted on draft bills and drafts of other acts of the National Assembly, as well as drafts of the acts of the State Council and of people's councils, while a referendum will be conducted on the adoption of laws or on the decision of other questions within the competence of the National Assembly, as well as on the decision of questions within the competence of the State Council and of the people's councils. All Bulgarian citizens who on the day of a nationwide referendum have the right to vote have the right to participate in the referendum, while Bulgarian citizens who are inhabitants of the inhabited locality in question or who are staying there for any length of time and who on the day of a local referendum have the right to vote have the right to participate in it. When consultation with the people takes place in the form of a discussion, minors may participate in it, too.

The new draft bill indicates precisely and specifically where, when and how proposals for consultation with the people can be made. It explains in detail how the discussions themselves will take place, pointing out that "citizens will express opinions and make suggestions regarding questions introduced for decision by the National Assembly, the State Council or the people's councils." A nationwide discussion is organized by the State Council and the National Council of the Fatherland Front jointly with the central governing bodies of other public organizations, while a local discussion is organized by the executive committee of the people's council or city council and the pertinent governing body of the Fatherland Front jointly with the governing bodies of other public organizations.

The discussion itself takes place at citizens' meetings in inhabited localities or in labor collectives, at meetings of public organizations, through mass information media or in other appropriate ways. Citizens may send their opinions and suggestions regarding the questions discussed both directly to the bodies which are competent to decide them and also express them through mass information media.

Questions regarding the holding of a nationwide and local referendum, regarding a general meeting of the population, who will organize and conduct them and when, occupy a well-defined place in the new draft bill. "Through a referendum," the draft bill says, "citizens directly, independently and definitively decide by voting basic questions within the competence of the National Assembly, of the State Council or of the people's council." The bill indicates the necessary requirements for the voting itself, as well as for correlation of the results thereof. To decide more important questions for an individual inhabited locality or part thereof, a referendum may be conducted by means of a general meeting of the population.

The real value of the draft Bill on Consultation with the People as a vivid expression of socialist democracy is augmented by the nationwide discussion of it, which will continue until 15 September 1982. The newspaper RABOTNTCHESKO DELO [Workers' Cause] is joining in this activity, too. The editors anticipate readers' opinions and will publicize specific suggestions regarding additions to and changes in the new draft Bill on Consultation with the People.

#### Editorial in 'OTECHESTVEN FRONT'

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "With the Worldly Wisdom of Millions of People"]

[Text] Yesterday we published the draft of a new Law on Consultation with the People, whereby, by decision of the State Council, popular discussion of it was initiated.

There are at least three criteria which predetermined that this should be left to the largest sociopolitical organization in our country--the Fatherland Front. First, the great importance of this document, which opens up new opportunities for the most active participation of the people in social management. Second, in deciding important questions affecting the vital interests of the people, referenda, in which the Fatherland Front has most abundant experience, will be held. And third, during their proceedings the National Assembly and the people's representatives rely most extensively on Fatherland Front committees and organizations for

the investigation of public opinion. From today until 15 September 1982 all citizens, organizations and labor collectives can express their viewpoints and opinions on the draft bill and make suggestions for additions and improvements. And only thereafter will it be discussed and adopted by the National Assembly and become a law equally binding on all.

The draft bill is a practical step towards fulfillment of the great goal set in the report of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the Ninth Fatherland Front Congress about the continuous development of our socialist democracy.

It is not the first time that our people have been called upon to speak out on draft legislation. This is a path already well trodden and deeply connected with the essence of our socialist way of life, with Marxist-Leninist principles of the people's participation in social administration. It is thus that one of the most important features of our democracy--the unity of the interests of the state, of society and of the individual--is clearly to be seen. This is also the solid foundation on which party policy for the further progress of our homeland is built. But in the event it does not apply to a routine advance discussion by the people of a normative document. The experience we have accumulated thus far and the actual practice of building socialism have made it imperative to include in the agenda of our renovated life the establishment of norms and regulations through which the collective thought of millions, the worldly wisdom of the entire people, can be best and most fully preserved.

It is self-evident that neither does it apply to the creation of only a legal mechanism, albeit the best and most perfect. It is a matter of discussion, if we can speak thus, of one of our most political draft bills in its intention, which does not treat of any individual legal, social, economic, cultural or other question, but touches the core of our party policy--the further development of socialist democracy. Therefore the aim now is to create a system for this kind of political work with the people. And not merely a system for work, but the establishment of a qualitatively new link in the chain of our social administration.

What more vivid expression can there be of the strength of our democracy than that the people should say "yes" or "no" on a question that arouses everybody, as is provided for in referenda, for example, whether they be nationwide or local? And citizens by voting will decide directly, independently and definitively basic questions within the competence of the National Assembly, the State Council or the people's council. What higher stage can there be in a democracy than that citizens in nationwide or local discussions, as they are termed in the draft bill, should express their opinions and make suggestions regarding questions introduced for decision in the National Assembly, State Council or people's council? Can there be a stronger expression of democracy than this, namely that now in the discussion of the draft bill the people themselves will determine how they will be consulted in the future and will themselves indicate the procedure and method by which this can best be done? We have reached this new peak of our socialist democracy along the well-trodden April path, spiritually enriched by a growing self-esteem because of the great progress made by our country in building a developed socialist society, taking warning from weaknesses and difficulties, and relying on the rich experience in social administration of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries.

For a long time our democracy has not been exhausted by just the conventional participation of the people in electing the agencies of state authority--the National Assembly, people's councils and city councils, judges and jurors. One of the great achievements of our socialist times is the consistent and mass participation of the people in the practical implementation of their own decisions, as is already done in enterprises and in residential districts. It has even got to the point where in the development of direct democracy some values, until recently mainly economic, have acquired clearly political content. A most dramatic example is the discussion and adoption of counterplans, by means of which working people participate directly in running the national economy. Thus the plan becomes a veritable act of millions of producers of material and spiritual goods. On the other hand, examples abound of the great importance which is attributed to the conurbation systems as a form of state authority and simultaneously of popular self-government.

Let us visualize this graphically. An important question concerning the life of a city, of a village, of a labor collective, a question affecting everybody is decided. If it is assumed that it is a matter only for the leadership, could everybody be convinced of its comprehensive solution? That is why consultation is not and cannot be merely an act of courtesy. As the decisions of the 12th Party Congress point out to us, this means involving all the actually most active working people in the decision of important questions of the all-round development of the country and of individual rayons and conurbation systems. For, political democracy is of value for us only if it expands the opportunities for the socialized-labor and personal initiative and activity of working people, only if it gives full range to the activity of labor collectives and the individual on behalf of the public good and thus for the ever better solution of collective and individual problems. In a certain sense the opportunities for people to participate are enlarged as compared with elections where voting rights are dependent on age limits. In referenda these naturally are retained, but in discussions the right of active participation is given to minor Bulgarian citizens as well.

In the draft bill that is offered for discussion, important functions are assigned to the Fatherland Front. Thus, some of its new functions, assigned by the 12th Party Congress and by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his speech to the Ninth Fatherland Front Congress, are worked out in practice. If we get to the heart of these functions, we shall see that it is a matter of the ever fuller strengthening of the Fatherland Front's position "as social guarantor of the proper functioning, and of the bolstering of the role and importance of, obshtinas, conurbation systems and local agencies of the people's power." And obviously its role in the social administration of the country will thus be elevated higher and higher. The draft bill provides that, apart from state agencies, proposals to the National Assembly and State Council for consultation with the people shall be made both by the National Council of the Fatherland Front and by collective members of the Fatherland Front, viz. the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Central Council of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and the Administrative Council of the Central Cooperative Union, while proposals to the people's councils shall be made by the local governing bodies of all these organizations, as well as the labor collectives of institutions and economic organizations. The Fatherland Front will clarify beforehand the questions whose discussion and decision by consultation are

impending. The National Council of the Fatherland Front is specified as the State Council's coorganizer, jointly with the central governing bodies of the other public organizations for nationwide discussions. But for local discussions the appropriate governing body of the Fatherland Front and those of the other public organizations shall together do this with the executive committees of the people's councils or city councils. Naturally, the initiators in the wards for the convocation of meetings for all discussions will again be Fatherland Front organizations. The statement is made again that the holding of nationwide referenda shall be organized by the State Council and by the National Council of the Fatherland Front; for local referenda the executive committee of the people's council and the governing body of the Fatherland Front are called upon again to cooperate actively. Consequently the opportunity opens up for Fatherland Front committees and organizations to exhibit creativity in searching for new forms in their political work with the people. On the basis of previous successes in their joint activity with other mass and public organizations, it will be possible to make more frequent use of certain organizational forms characteristic of movements. And as can be expected, new interrelationships will be created, too. The aim is to reach everybody--in the enterprise, in the ward, in the educational institution--and to generate natural activity in everybody by the clear awareness that he is creating rights and assuming the responsibility for their implementation.

Starting today, the newspaper will makes its columns available to readers for opinions, viewpoints and suggestions regarding the draft Bill on Consultation with the People.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DECREE ON DEPRIVATION OF GDR CITIZENSHIP PUBLISHED

West Germany Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by 'Ws,' datelined Berlin, 29 June: "Deprivation of Citizenship Regulated--Published in GDR Legal Gazette." A translation of the official text of the GDR decree discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GESETZBLATT DER DDR has now published a "Decree on Questions of GDR Citizenship," signed by Premier Stoph, which goes into effect on 1 July. According to the decree, "GDR citizens who left the GDR without permission before 1 January 1981 and have not moved back to their residences in the GDR" are deprived of their GDR citizenship. This deprivation of GDR citizenship also extends to the "offspring" of these people "if they have a residence outside the GDR which has not been approved by the GDR state organs." In another article, the GDR Council of Ministers' decree ordered that in the case of fugitives who left the GDR without permission before 1 January 1981 "no measures will be taken to assign criminal responsibility for illegal departure from the GDR."

With this decree, naturally never mentioned as of Tuesday [29 June] in the GDR newspapers, the GDR is in compliance with the FRG on the agreement regarding the new regulations of the interest-free overdraft of credits (swing). At that time the GDR government had announced that "entry into the GDR for these people could be applied for and granted in accordance with GDR law." Since this is explicitly a regulation of what is permissible, it is strictly up to the GDR to fix the number of GDR refugees who may return to the GDR even though they left without permission between 1 January 1972 and 1 January 1981. The text of the new decree moreover indicates that only the "illegal departure" from the GDR shall not be subject to prosecution. According to the GDR penal code, punishment for all other offenses will not be waived by the GDR so that especially armed deserters will have to reckon with arrest and conviction if they return to the GDR. The new decree by the Council of Ministers complements a law of October 1972, according to which all GDR fugitives who had left the GDR before 1 January 1972 "under violation of GDR laws" lost their GDR citizenship, with the assurance of no further prosecution of their unlawful departure from the GDR.

Text of Decree

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German  
Part I No 22, 22 Jun 82 p 418

[Official text of "Decree of 21 June 1982 on Questions of Citizenship of the German Democratic Republic," signed by Willi Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Article 1

(1) GDR citizens who left the GDR without permission before 1 January 1981 and have not moved back to their residences in the GDR will be deprived of their GDR citizenship when this decree becomes effective in accordance with Article 13 of the law of 20 February 1967 on GDR citizenship (Citizenship Law) (GBL I No 2 p 3).

(2) With respect to the offspring of persons mentioned in Paragraph 1, their citizenship also changes accordingly, if they maintain their residence outside the GDR without approval of the GDR state organs.

Article 2

In the case of persons mentioned in Article 1, Paragraph 1 no measures will be taken to assign criminal responsibility for illegal departure from the GDR.

Article 3

This decree goes into effect on 1 July 1982.

CSO: 2300/362

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STUDENTS' CHOICE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING SEEN GREATLY RESTRICTED

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 102, 8 Jul 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "'Illusory Professional Desires'--Majority of GDR Graduates Have To Learn a Skilled Labor Trade"]

[Text] In the future, it will presumably become even harder for the GDR's young people to learn a profession of their choice. According to East Berlin reports, economic requirements will displace the apprenticeship proportions in certain training vocations. For years there has been a major discrepancy in the GDR between apprenticeship openings and the desired professions of many students. For such trades as cosmetician, consumer goods advertiser and automobile mechanic there are more applicants than available apprenticeships, while for a number of labor trades, especially in material production, there are no applicants. But it is already a fact that in the future "the large majority" of students, including women, will have to learn a skilled labor trade.

Parents and students in the GDR are therefore advised to inform themselves promptly about the possibilities to avoid disappointments in the choice of trade. Concurrently, vocational guidance is to be improved to discourage "illusory professional desires." Presently, about 40 percent of the apprentices in the GDR are trained for industry, 16 percent for the building trade, 11 percent for agriculture, forestry and the food industry, 10 percent for the retail trade and 21 percent for areas in transportation and handicraft.

The chances of getting an apprenticeship in the desired profession are best for GDR students with good to excellent achievements. The enterprises must take into account the following factors when distributing apprenticeships: the personality of the applicant, his motives for choosing the particular profession, his academic achievements in individual courses, his social activities, physical condition and social aspects. Often "connections" also play a role in the distribution of attractive apprenticeships; stories to that effect are time and again heard in the GDR.

What will not change substantially at the moment is the number of secondary school graduates in the GDR. As early as the mid-1970's the number of students at the expanded secondary schools (EOS) that lead to university qualifying degrees decreased to 50,000 and in 1980 was approximately 47,000. According to official East Berlin reports, only those students are picked for the EOS's "who have distinguished themselves through their good academic results, high rates of achievement and willingness, as well as political-moral and character maturity, and who prove their loyalty to our state by their attitudes and social activities." Also in the future, "children of production workers" are to get special consideration for admittance to the EOS'. Moreover, in certain "graduation classes for vocational training" the GDR students have the opportunity to graduate both with an academic and a vocational degree. These graduating classes have over 20,000 students.

CSO: 2300/364

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ASSESSMENT OF SED POLITBURO'S KURT HAGER AT AGE 70

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Jul 82 p 4

[Article signed 'Ws': "Kurt Hager at Age 70"]

[Text] Kurt Hager, senior secretary of the SED Central Committee, will be 70 years old today. For more than a quarter of a century the trained editor from Bietigheim/Enz has been the SED's ideologist and culture guardian: in 1955 the resourceful Swabian became the Central Committee secretary responsible for culture and science in the SED party leadership. In all these years, Hager has equally experienced all partyline changes as well as the constant ups and downs between brutal suppression and cautious liberalization in the SED's cultural policy. To Hager, however, this does not mean a lack of principles, but rather party discipline and absolute loyalty toward the decisions reached by the majority in the Politburo, decisions which the guardian of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism may influence but not control. Although full of ideological sternness and relentless, even verbally, Hager still shows human compassion. Large is the number of GDR authors and artists who had to suffer greatly under the SED's cultural policy and who nevertheless are not angry with the responsible Central Committee secretary but grateful for the sympathy with which he alleviated their fate. Many "culturally productive people" in the GDR can only think about the future with horror when not "Papa Hager" but presumably some member of the FDJ (Free German Youth) generation will be responsible for the party's cultural policy. In the GDR, Hager is credited with striving for modernization or liberalization of the system; this aspiration, however, is coupled with a continually aggressive and irreconcilable attitude toward the "bourgeois ideology and all its forms." Since 1949 a professor for philosophy at Humboldt University in East Berlin, Hager untiringly preaches total ideological "Abgrenzung" (delimitation). Time and again he stressed the formation of a particular German socialist nation in the GDR, which is to be the only legitimate heir and promoter of everything good, beautiful, humane and progressive in German history.

CSO: 2300/363

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PSYCHOLOGIST ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S NEED FOR GREATER INDEPENDENCE

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 12-13 Jun 82 p 12

[ 'We and Our Times' feature interview with Prof Dr Wolfgang Kessel, by Hans Meergans: "Do Our Young People Have It 'Too Good?'" ]

[Text] Our interlocutor: Prof Wolfgang Kessel, Ph.D., born 1926, is the director of the Psychology Department at Karl Marx University. In the military during World War II, he started his teaching career in 1949, and then became director of POS (Paedagogische Oberschule = Pedagogical Secondary School) and EOS (Erweiterte Ober-schule = Expanded Secondary School). In 1960, he began his studies in educational psychology at Humboldt University. With his dissertation on teacher-student relationship, the degree was conferred on him in 1967; in 1969; he became docent at Karl Marx University; and since 1977, he has been full professor. Professor Kessel is a member of the administration of the Scientific Council for Psychology at the Ministry for Higher and Vocational Education and also of the administration of the Scientific Council for Education Psychology at the Academy for Pedagogical Sciences. He works moreover as a member of the editorial staff collective of "Contributions to Psychology" and "Pedagogy," and is known among radio-listeners since 1967 from the Radio GDR's "Pedagogical Consultation Hour." Our interlocutor is married and has two children.

"When I was still young we were taught good manner and respect for our parents, but today's young people want to know everything better and always talk big." This was not uttered by the teacher who has his problems with his adolescents, nor by the worried mama for whose little daughter disco visits and loud music have apparently become the essence of life; nor by elderly lady in the street car who waits in vain for that discourteous youngster to offer her his seat. It is hard to believe: the above-mentioned maxim with the somewhat bitter after-taste comes from the mouth of the Greek historian Hesiod who lived about 700 B.C. and reproached young people for being "unbelievably

inconsiderate and precocious." This, when one thinks about it, is true. Especially when nowadays, one again and again comes across the view: Our young people have it too good. Is this view right? Is it wrong? Is it both right and wrong? In any case, it has had its influence on people already for two or three thousand years. Reason enough, to talk about it. We asked the Leipzig psychologist, Prof Dr Wolfgang Kessel for information.

[Question] "Our young people have it too good." Whatever the reason, unfortunately we still hear this opinion rather frequently.

[Answer] You are right. We frequently hear from adults that today's young people have it "too good." Does this mean that they ought to have it worse? I believe that this formulation of the question deserves to be taken seriously and it is worthwhile thinking about it.

Yes, the young people in our country do not have it bad. We fought for that, we wanted that. It was and is our declared goal to assure for our young people a life in happiness, peace and prosperity, yes prosperity also. Our young people have it good: They are given an education in the sciences and arts as no previous generation, and they have opportunities galore to pursue their interests and inclinations. Nobody needs to go hungry and all young people are assured an apprenticeship or a work place. Our boys and girls participate in our society's life; they are asked for their opinions and their views.

[Question] Adults also say occasionally that they had been better, accomplished more, showed greater readiness to put forth efforts than the present generation. Is there any truth in this?

[Answer] It is as incorrect to say that young people today are worse than young people in times past as it would be to say that they are better. There are several reasons for this.

#### Better or Worse?--The Young People Are Different

Young people today live under completely different social conditions than young people in the past. For this reason alone, the comparison is problematic.

Secondly: How, after all, do we measure "better" or "worse"? Let us assume that it means that previous generations were more polite, more ready to help, more industrious, better educated. I would say that this would simply be a misjudgement which we all too frequently find in history. Later generations always complain about the younger generation. A particularly appropriate example can already be found in Socrates who lived from 470 to 399 B.C.: "Today's young people love luxury. They have bad manners, scorn authority, have no respect for their elders, and chat when they are supposed to be working. Young people no longer get up when older people enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter when there is company, at the table they gulf down the desserts, cross their legs and tyrannize their teachers."

[Question] This really sounds as if it were spoken in our times.

[Answer] This is surely connected with the fact that older people see themselves in the mirror of the past, especially where positive characteristics are concerned. We tend to forget that when we were young, we were no model children either. This is why I take the position that today's young people are neither "better" nor "worse." The answer can only be: today's youth is different.

[Question] How does this being different show itself?

[Answer] This shows itself first of all in such external forms as fashions, dance-forms, certain interests of free-time activities, but also in the wishes, ambitions, life-perspectives and in many other things. I am thinking here, for instance, about the critical awareness of the young generation, about the strong need for independence and responsibility. It is easily discernible that these changes emanate from the altered social circumstances. I find that Kurt David expressed this very nicely in his "Diary of a Minor": "We can't be like you were. But we can be as you let us be." In other words: What becomes of our young people, how they develop with all that we treasure in them and also with all that we do not like in them depends to a great extent on the adult generation. It really doesn't do much good to put the blame on the young people, but when we complain about them we must really ask ourselves: What did we do wrong in the education, in the contact with the young people?

And we ought to take something else into consideration: When here and there young people are severely criticized, we ought to check whether what is involved is a one-time experience or whether it is really typical of the majority of young people in our land. It is not good when we indiscriminately talk about "today's young people." There are exemplary well-bred young people and of course also others who cause us worries by their deportment and achievements. But this was the case in the past also.

[Question] But there are certain peculiarities of youth, of the time, in other words, which literature refers to as the "intermediate stage." I guess it is better not to talk, in this context, about "uncouth adolescence" and about "punks."

[Answer] I am very much opposed to refer to young people as "punks" or to youth as "uncouth adolescence". Such expressions discriminate against young people and burden the social relations between young people and adults.

When we talk about the intermediate stage, we mean that the young people are no longer children but are not yet adults either. In this stage between the 12th and 18th year we notice first of all telling bodily changes. The young people "shoot up," a certain bodily disharmony is noticeable. Occasionally, their behavior appears clumsy.

It would however, be a mistake to draw from the bodily development direct and immediate conclusions about the intellectual-emotional development. It is important that we are aware of this fact because it is all too often assumed that young people who in their bodily development are like adults are also already able to meet standards set for adults.

[Question] Social scientists and especially psychologists, sociologists, and educators take the position that in this stage of development conflicts with the adult generation are necessarily the order of the day. Is this so-called generations-conflict really in conformity with the course of nature?

[Answer] No, such conformity with the course of nature does not exist. Whether or not young people live in conflict with the adults depends on circumstances, for instance whether society is friendly or hostile towards young people, whether it offers young people development opportunities or is unable to give it a perspective. This, to begin with, is in general terms.

As regards the concrete individual relationship between young people and adults, there will be the less conflicts and tensions the better the adults understand to get on with young people, to take them seriously, to treat them with respect, and to delegate responsibility to them. Where these principles are disregarded, unpleasant and weighty arguments can indeed occur which in the final analysis can only be disadvantageous for the development of adolescents.

If we take a look at the intellectual development, we discover first of all that the majority of young people possess extensive and well-founded knowledge in the social as well as in the natural sciences. They have a solid polytechnical education. This does not exclude the possibility that teachers at times are still dissatisfied with the students' inadequate knowledge. What we notice in particular is the young people's greater problem-awareness, their openmindedness towards new problems, the increased attention they pay to ideological issues and moral problems. In doing so, they are trying to find their own position from which to judge everything in the world.

#### Young People, Their Ideals, and Reality.

A further characteristic is the adolescents' increasing readiness and ability to criticize. In spite of the here mentioned positive development tendencies and peculiarities, there are also some problems that can easily cause conflicts: Thus, young people are often inclined towards stereotyped thinking, to schematic transfers, to rash judgements, and to exaggerations. Their criticism is often strongly emotionally colored whereby negative aspects are frequently overrated.

[Question] Don't contradictions between ideal and reality play a role here also?

[Answer] ...matters which young people at times have great difficulty coping with? Here, one must consider that the ideal always lies in the future, that is what one strives for, what one fights for. Hence, there will always have to be a contradiction. But this contradiction must not reach such a point that the young people begin to doubt the reality--a complicated educational problem. On the one hand, the young people need genuine ideals, worthy of all their efforts. On the other hand, we must endeavour to present to young people the reality as it really is: with all its problems, conflicts, and also with its inadequacies. If we present reality without conflicts and unrepresentative of life as it is, we soon lose credibility and therewith education-effectiveness.

### Tutelage and Tying-to-Apron-Strings Are Unsuitable Measures

[Question] In this connection, how can we fit in the young people's desire for independence and the sharing of responsibility?

[Answer] I consider this desire one of the most important characteristics of adolescence. Young people want to be asked their views, they want to participate in decisionmaking and they also want to assume responsibility.

One of the most frequent problems leading to stress in the relationship between young people and adults is the constant tutelage and the pettiness of tying the young people to the apron strings of the adults: If we want to educate young people to be independent and responsible in thought and action, we must offer them sufficient opportunities to put independent and responsible conduct to the test. Nice words alone accomplish nothing. In the years of adolescence in particular, the desire to be taken seriously, to be the adults' partner, is very pronounced. And this must be taken into account. Otherwise, there easily exists the danger that young people will try to give expression to their striving for acceptance and recognition by such negative means as smoking, alcohol consumption and snobbish behavior.

[Question] Could you perhaps in summary point out some consequences which could be helpful for education?

[Answer] The first is that we must have an understanding for the peculiarities of young people, that we must try to comprehend them. We always must remember that we used to be young.

### Demand and Respect--This Must Be a Unity

Markarenko again and again emphasized as the crucial principle of socialist pedagogy: Greatest possible demands on human beings with greatest possible respect for them. I consider this fundamental principle of utmost importance. What it is really all about is the dialectic unity of demand and respect. Merely to make demands without giving the adolescents sufficient respect is contradictory to this principle. Respect for young people is also shown by the way one talks with them. We must set an example of politeness, decent behavior, and socialist interpersonal conduct.

Many questions and problems are of concern to young people: about the development of nature and society, about morals and ethics, about human conflicts and many others. Precisely because of this, they so urgently need adults to talk with. With a view to a thorough grounding in the scientific ideology, this is extraordinarily important. One certainly ought to further deliberate and make suggestions. But what matters in the final analysis is that adults set a living example of the unity of word and deed for the young people. They must feel that we stand totally and completely behind what we are saying. The example set by adults is a great educational force. I return once more to Kurt David's testimony: They cannot be as we say we were, but they can become what we let them become.

'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' COMMENTATOR EVALUATES NINTH PLENUM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz]

[Text] The long awaited ninth plenum of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee, which was devoted to youth affairs, has completed its proceedings. Not everyone is satisfied with its resolution.

During numerous meetings and discussions, we came into contact with two clearly separate groups of young people. The first, thinking in terms of the past decade, expected the Plenum to offer it concrete benefits. It expected housing privileges, priority in purchases, and the awarding of promotions solely on the grounds of age and qualifications.

The second group sought formal legal autonomy, and demanded the abolition of the elements that have led to the social and economic degradation of young people; it demanded that they be given more serious treatment, in accordance with their place in production and political life, and expected youth organizations to play a stronger role in the state's political system.

The Plenum fulfilled the expectations of this second group. The youth movement obtained assurances that it would have, among other things, a right to supervise decisions on matters crucial to the younger generation, legislative initiative, etc. The Plenum also took a position favoring permanent forms of contact between youth organizations and the party and the state administration, at all levels. The principle of "nothing about us without us" is thus being implemented.

The question of establishing a Council of Ministers Committee on Youth was also settled. To tell the truth, it was not so much settled, since the Ninth [PZPR] Congress had already done this, as brought to a conclusion. It is still only a question of reaching an agreement within the [youth] organizations themselves. The balance on this is two for and two against. It is felt, however, that an agreement on this still cannot be expected...

Another important theme in the Plenum's proceedings was the question of youth's participation in the economic reform. This great undertaking is upsetting old habits, ways of thought, and methods of management. It is

frequently claimed that middle-management personnel are afraid of the reform. Within enterprises, the drastic nature of the changes will create almost revolutionary situations. This is, in fact, a chance for young people. They can break through and reach the highest positions, in which knowledge, courage, competence, and quickness are needed. The key to a real improvement in youth's situation in life thus lies in the success of the reform. It should be stated frankly that the loans for young married couples, [other] loans, and priorities are merely supplementary crisis measures, with very dubious results in terms of education--ad hoc measures. Only an improvement in the performance of the entire economy, a restoration of meaning to the term "market economy," and an increase in labor productivity can stabilize our lives in the long term and create prospects for the future.

Young people's participation in the reform is therefore necessary. We do not need them to participate [just] for the sake of employment; we need youth's emotional involvement and support for the reform, as well as their imagination in using the new mechanisms created by the reform. The reform is a task that affects the entire economic history of the Polish People's Republic. It can either be the monument to a generation, or yet one more unsuccessful, ordinary experiment...

Finally, the third important result of the Ninth Plenum is the spread of the conviction that the conclusion of the proceedings has not ended anything, that the discussion about young people is just beginning, and that the Resolution is not the only result of the Plenum; there will be consequences resulting from their implementation. In addition, requests have been made to have this subject discussed again by the same forum in 2 years.

The Resolution adopted does not "give" anything, but instead opens up possibilities for undertaking initiatives and carrying them out, and achieving an improvement in various fields of life through effective action, through work.

Will young people make use of these new conditions?

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COMMENTARY ON RECENT CONFERENCE OF NINE AFRICAN STATES NOTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2-4 Jul 82 p 11

[Text] A conference of nine African states--Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe meeting in Luanda [Angola] has ended. The conference focused on the states' economic relations with the Republic of South Africa. The countries are members of the Coordinating Convention for the Development of South African States, founded in 1980, when Zimbabwe declared its independence. Once again, it was emphasized that for obvious reasons the Convention is an economic organization, not a political one, for its members are countries with very different political orientations. However, it was recognized that economy cannot develop in a political vacuum. The member states expressed their concern over their increased economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa. They hope that in the near future Namibia will become an independent state and join the organization as the 10th member country.

To be sure, the independent African states for years have been condemning the racist policy of Pretoria and demanding that international sanctions be imposed against her. But at the same time, they maintain widespread economic ties with the white regime. This is simple required by the economic necessity, and there is no point to blame those countries for their economic exchange with the racists.

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have no direct access to the sea, therefore they ship their export goods from ports in the Republic of South Africa. As its closest neighboring country, Pretoria supplies the countries with relatively inexpensive electric energy, food, machines, appliances, and raw materials. Under different circumstances, the black south African countries would have to import those items either from across Africa or from Europe and the United States, which would make the import much more expensive.

The countries which are most dependent on the Republic of South Africa are former British protectorates: Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. Botswana officially condemns the apartheid, but its economic situation has forced the government to exercise restraint in its attitude towards what is going on in the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. The Republic of South Africa provides water and electricity to Botswana, and it also imports labor force

from Botswana. Swaziland is actually owned by a South African millionaire Carl Todd, owner of 30 mines and the largest landowner in the area, while his fellow South Africans own 45 percent of the farmland in Swaziland. A similar situation exists in Lesotho.

Somewhat looser relations exist between the Republic of South Africa and other countries in southern Africa. In the Republic of South Africa, over 40,000 citizens of Mozambique have found employment, mainly in mines, and they provide Mozambique with about 40 percent of its foreign exchange.

Twenty percent of Zimbabwe's exports go to the Republic of South Africa, and 35 percent of Zimbabwe's imports are from the Republic of South Africa. There is a booming tourist traffic between the two countries, and Prime Minister's Mugabe's government makes good money from the tourism.

Over 40 percent of Zambia's export goes through the ports of the Republic of South Africa. From the Republic of South Africa, Zambia imports food (especially corn), clothing, and industrial equipment. Zambia also uses the Republic of South Africa's railroad system.

Pretoria supplies Zaire with meat, fruit, and vegetables. Over 60 percent of Zambia's copper export and most of its import go through the Republic of South Africa.

Summing up, the export of the Republic of South Africa to the rest of Africa is valued at over 130 billion dollars, which represents a 50 percent increase over 1979. The value of the import is only 40 billion dollars.

The conference in Luanda served only to state the facts, and no measures have been taken. But it could not be otherwise. The economic dependence of black countries in south Africa on the white racist Republic of South Africa is so great that a radical severance of those ties might lead to an economic catastrophe in those countries. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that the international community would cover the losses resulting from such a catastrophe, since the economic situation of the East and the West is far from good. But a lack of specific solutions concerning the independence of the black south African states does not mean that the meeting in Luanda was pointless. Several agreements on a common transportation system were signed, but this is not most essential. The important point is that the participating countries manifested their willingness to continue to work together in order to accomplish a gradual liberation of those countries from the economic influence of the Republic of South Africa. The countries also warned Pretoria that if it turns the economic exchange into a political statement or makes it dependent on ideology, then the severance may occur earlier than Prime Minister Botha thinks.

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WARSAW AEROCLUB PRESIDENT DISCUSSES ITS ACTIVITIES

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 8, 11 Jul 82 pp 3, 6

[Interview with Prof Dr Jerzy Kuberski, president of the Warsaw Aeroclub, on 21 May, by Henryk Kucharski: "Victory in Spite of Difficulties"; place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] To begin our interview we want to convey to you our warmest congratulations for the Warsaw Aeroclub's [AW] victory in the 1981 regional aeroclub competition--we are addressing the president of the AW, Prof Dr Jerzy Kuberski. Let us remind the reader that the competition comprises the entire activity of an aeroclub in a given year--including the aeronautic and modeler activity, flight and parachute jump safety, labor productivity, and economic effects.

[Answer] "I sincerely thank you on my own behalf and on that of all Warsaw's aeronautic sportsmen," answers Prof Dr Kuberski. "Taking first place last year in the regional aeroclub competition gives all of us in the Warsaw Aeroclub immense satisfaction. Especially when one takes into consideration the fact that for several years we have been working under very difficult circumstances. The Goclaw Airport closed down in 1977. Since that time 5 years ago we have housed equipment in a hangar at Goclaw, while conducting part of our activity at Babice, using improvised spaces. I feel that in this situation we selected a good general plan with regard to activity which compensated for the closure of Goclaw and all the difficulties associated with that. We flew as much as possible at Babice. On the other hand, each year during 2 summer months and longer we trained and worked very intensively at Przasnysz. This is a town over 100 kilometers from Warsaw, a fact which caused definite difficulties. However, it determined the commitment of the youth, members, and workers of our aeroclub. The results of that work were evident especially in 1981, although even in the preceding years we did not rest on our laurels. Thus in the name of the Warsaw Aeroclub Administrative Board I am duty bound to most warmly thank above all the AW manager Jozef Grochowski and all the workers, especially the mechanics, for their immensely generous work. Creating the conditions in Przasnysz for organizing the camp and the assistance of the army--technical and in the area of food--testify to the fact that our friends--the soldiers of the WOW [Warsaw Military

District] and the Przasnysz authorities, who have always taken a great interest in our work--share equally in our success."

[Question] Recently the Warsaw Aeroclub moved at last from Goclaw to new buildings and hangars at Babice. Thus can one perhaps speak of better conditions now for the aeroclub's work than in the past 5 years?

[Answer] Indeed our aeroclub moved to new spaces at Babice in the first months of this year. I want to emphasize that thanks to the social work of our members we reduced the cost of the move. That fills one with optimism, all the more so since we are presently living in difficult circumstances. This work, especially the young people's, is meaningful.

[Question] As far as we know, the Babice Airport will not fully replace the former Goclaw Airport for the Warsaw Aeroclub...

[Answer] As the readers of SKRZYDLATA POLSKA know, our flying activity at Babice is limited. For in accordance with that airport's directions, we may fly airplanes only in a circle to an altitude of 300 meters and to designated areas. With regard to gliders, we may fly also only to an altitude of 300 meters and in a circle. We may not fly outside the boundaries of the airport. We can execute parachute jumps only in exceptionally favorable conditions, after receiving permission. Thus our parachute section uses Babice only sporadically.

[Question] Thus what is the general plan for the AW's action in 1982?

[Answer] We are directing our main effort at raising the qualifications of already trained pilots and parachute jumpers. But we are not forgetting about basic training either. Unfortunately, in spite of intensive efforts we are encountering immense difficulty this year in finding a place outside of Warsaw for quartered flight training of young people. Practically speaking, we are forced to base almost all of this year's activity in the air at Babice. Fortunately in this matter we are meeting with understanding and assistance from the rest of the users of the Babice Airport and the air traffic service. Basically we work at Babice on Saturday and Sunday, from morning to evening. Thanks however to the goodwill I mentioned, we will be able to use the airport on some other days of the week also.

[Question] In spite of the undoubtedly training achievements of the Warsaw Aeroclub in the last years, one has heard less and less about the sports success of Warsaw aviators on the national scene. Did the high aeronautic achievement in Warsaw suffer from lapse of memory?

[Answer] In spite of the AW's success in the 1981 regional aeroclub rivalry, the disappearance of AW competitors from the top ten in the various contests and classifications which are conducted worries me and perhaps the entire aeroclub management. We will try to correct this situation this year. We would like for our representatives to participate in all the national contests, although the number of contests has been significantly limited for economic reasons. All the same, we should prepare ourselves better for

them, since recently they obviously were not our strongest point. How successful we will be is difficult to say, since this is merely a sport. But I am discussing this because I would like to emphasize our interest in competitive sports.

[Question] In addition to the glider, aircraft, and parachute jump activity in the Warsaw Aeroclub, model airplane and hang glider activities are also conducted. What achievements, problems and hopes does the Warsaw Aeroclub have with these two most accessible areas of aviation sports?

[Answer] We have considerable success with model airplane work. On the one hand, it is connected with the wide scope of model airplane work--I have in mind here, among others, the circles active in schools--and with the fact that in an understanding with the Warsaw housing cooperative movement we have jointly started a beautiful workshop. It is located very close to our airport at Babice, in the center of the Wawrzyszew housing area. Toward this goal the cooperative authorities turned over one floor of the housing area's House of Culture and also assisted in furnishing this structure. I feel that it is presently one of the best equipped model shops in the nation. We are also allocating considerable funds for modeler activity. Thus I hope that, among others, thanks to this our modelers will be more and more visible both within the scope of the aeroclub and on the national, even international, scene. I feel that this lies within their capabilities. As for the development of hang gliding, certain organizational changes have taken place. Hang glider work in the AW is still going on at the old workshop base at Goclaw. Unfortunately, the possibilities for executing flights in Warsaw are not great. We execute short sideslips in parks at Azczexliwice and Moczydla and from the talus hill at Siekierki. However, they cannot satisfy hang glider pilots. In connection with that, hang gliding activity is concentrated mainly on trips and camps outside of Warsaw. The aeroclub's services for the hang gliding section consist largely of assistance in purchasing materials and partly in furnishing equipment. On the other hand, everything that concerns hang glider flying is exclusively the personal work of the hang glider pilots and is accumulated through the personal efforts of the hang gliding section. We have an ever growing group of pilots and--what is very important--of hang glider instructors. I feel, therefore, that this year, too, the Warsaw hang glider pilots will raise their qualifications.

[Question] Activity in the new economic conditions keeps many aviation sports activists awake at night. The general cost increase was extremely hard on aeroclubs. How does the largest aeroclub in the nation intend to come to terms with the undoubtedly economic difficulties?

[Answer] With regard to funds, the budget which we received from the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Aeroclub, I believe, will cover 20-30 percent of our needs. Thus the rest of the funds we must come up with ourselves. We are getting them in various ways. One way is through leasing buildings at Goclaw to different users who will pay us rent, and we will bear the costs of maintaining the buildings. The resulting difference which we acquire we are designating for AW statutory activity. Part of the funds necessary for aeroclub activity we are receiving from patron institutions.

For we have friends who helped us for many years and who are not refusing to assist us this year also. Finally, no less important in our balance book will be the most frugal management of everything we own.

[Question] We are talking on 21 May, the day before the AW members' annual spring flight technology conference. Am I correct in thinking that these matters will also be a subject of tomorrow's meeting?

[Answer] Yes, indeed. Tomorrow's flight technology conference will even be dedicated to these matters. Fewer repairs and better use of equipment, instruments, tools--of everything that is in our hands--will allow us to economize considerably. All the more so since presently some instruments and materials have greatly increased in price. What was once a small sum in the budget is today a very perceptible, sometimes painful, expense. Thus our efforts are aimed at the most sensible economizing.

[Question] How do the authorities of the aeroclub of which you are the president work on a daily basis?

[Answer] In accordance with our plan we are systematically holding meetings of the Presidium of the AW Administrative Board. A meeting of our aeroclub's Administrative Board was held 2 weeks ago. Now we are already preparing for the reporting conference which is to be held in the fall. We keenly observe statutory principles, and we respect our internal democracy and everything that results from our joint assignments. I want to emphasize the great activity of all the members of the AW Presidium and Administrative Board.

[Question] Before the beginning of this year's aviation season a verification of pilots and parachute jumpers was conducted in the Warsaw Aeroclub, as in all the rest of the regional aeroclubs. What are its results?

[Answer] We conducted all the work connected with admitting those who appear in the number of AW members to glider and airplane flights and parachute jumps. The lists of those admitted to this year's season were published. No one has a complaint against us on that score, since the work was conducted fairly and honestly. We had to part only with those colleagues who for years had not observed the statutory principles. Thus they were only those cases where membership in the aeroclub was merely formal and had in fact expired sometimes 2 or 3 years ago.

[Question] The Warsaw Aeroclub is the only aeroclub with an assemblage of 3 million. Is that perhaps why for years it has had an excess--in relation to possibilities--of candidates for aviation training, or is it simply the result of young people's unceasing interest in aviation? Did the AW have more applicants than there are places at the training camps this year also?

[Answer] This year, too, the candidates greatly exceed the number of places at the camps and our training possibilities. One can take delight in the fact that aviation enjoys the young people's interest. It would be worse if this interest were not present. We do not see that happening. Still, as in each aeroclub, we are experiencing an ever growing shortage of equipment, a fact which limits our training possibilities.

[Question] Which shortage of equipment do you feel the most?

[Answer] I think that I am in agreement with the opinion of all aviation activists in Poland if I say that aeroclubs need most of all training equipment in the form of inexpensive gliders, especially two-seaters, and the most inexpensive airplanes possible. The Bocians are close to being finished. The new two-seater Puchacz glider has become amazingly, in my opinion, more expensive. Its high price must influence usage costs and the rise in training costs. As for competitive gliders, I feel that we will hold out for a while, although the alternative Jantara is a very urgent matter for competitive training.

[Question] As you already mentioned, the move to Babice will not assure the Warsaw Aeroclub the possibility of conducting full aviation activity, especially glider and parachute jump activity. Thus how feasible still are plans to build a new air field for the needs of Warsaw's aviation sports?

[Answer] The matter of a replacement airfield, which must be opened at the town of Goclaw, is not only still feasible but is entering into the deciding phase. I will note that when the decision fell to the government about putting Goclaw under a housing development, that decision simultaneously obligated the town's authorities to open an air field. Discussion on that subject, however, lasted for a very long time. The possibility of selecting terrain suitable for an airport within the boundaries of greater Warsaw is relatively small. The locations proposed to us were as a rule very far from the city. And after all, the aeroclub is to remain for Varsovians and is to serve the young people. One has to consider what is possible in terms of their finances and time. If we move the airport very far beyond the city limits, then travel will be longer and costs higher. That is also why the location of a new airport in the area of the town of Marki, with easy travel on the newly constructed Torun Line, is most suitable for us. There is a group of meadows at Marki that can be easily and rather inexpensively prepared for our aviation needs. Together with the president of the PRL Aeroclub, we went to the president of the capital city of Warsaw about making the final decisions in this matter. Of course at present, because of understandable considerations, funds are not an easy matter, but we have a guarantee and an assurance that those who have incurred these responsibilities to us will be able to meet them.

[Question] In what way would the Warsaw Aeroclub with its seat in Babice benefit from a future air field in Marki?

[Answer] Flight training and the entire gliding activity would take place at Marki. Since the distance between Babice and Marki is about 10 kilometers as the crow flies, there would not be a problem with even daily transportation of equipment by air. Parachute jumps would also take place in Marki, since in my opinion the chances for using Babice will decrease. And that is not only because of the limitations which result from the landing approach of passenger airplanes at Okecie Airport, but also because of the growing housing development around Babice. After all, an entire wall of the city is already standing on the north side of the airport, and a very large district is being built on the south side of Babice, too. The airport is already situated

between two large housing areas. The burdens that an airport brings to the inhabitants will also cause various, additional limitations in the aviation activity of those who use Babice. Thus the air field in Marki is very necessary for us.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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BRIEFS

NEW BYDGOSZCZ RECTOR--The minister of science, higher schools and technology has appointed Prof Dr Hab Eng Jozef Salacinski, director of the Telecommunications Institute at Gdansk Technical University, to the post of rector of the Technical-Agricultural Academy in Bydgoszcz. Prof Salacinski is a well-known specialist in the field of teletransmission [teletransmisijsa]. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul-1 Aug 82 p 7]

NEW CZESTOCHOWA RECTOR--The minister of science, higher schools and technology has appointed a new rector at Czestochowa Technical University. The new rector is Prof Jozef Adam Ledwon. Prof Ledwon is a specialist in surface and subterranean industrial building structures, and in the field of construction in mining areas. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 5 Aug 82 p 2]

NEW COLLEGIAL ORGANS--The Presidium of the present Main Council for Science, Higher Schools and Technology has examined the consequences arising from the law on higher schools which has been passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. As a result of the discussion, it was decided to establish a seven-member Central Electoral Commission, to be chaired by Prof Zbigniew Osinski of Warsaw Technical University. This commission will handle the preparation and conduct of elections to the Main Council for Science and Higher Schools, the Council for Higher Medical Schools and the Council for Higher Physical Education Schools. In accordance with adopted procedure, during the first stage of work, i.e., up to the end of August 1982, the Central Electoral Commission will prepare a draft regulation on elections to these three collegial organs, which have come into existence by virtue of the law on higher schools. It is anticipated that a meeting of the present Main Council for Science, Higher Schools and Technology will be held in September, at which time the draft regulation on elections will be presented. The Central Electoral Commission consists of Prof Zbigniew Osinski of Warsaw Technical University, Prof Zbigniew Drozdowski of the Physical Education Academy in Poznan, Prof Antoni Fajferek of the Academy of Economics in Krakow, Prof Czeslaw Krolikowski of Poznan Technical University, Prof Zbigniew Muszynski of the Agricultural University of Warsaw, Prof Stefan Baszeja of the Academy of Medicine in Warsaw and Prof Romuald Skowronski of Lodz University. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/828

VIEWS OF FOREIGN HISTORIANS ON MOLDAVIA COMBATTED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 9 Jul 82 pp 1, 15

[Article by Cici Iordache]

[Text] Victor Spinei, still a young man who has not reached 40 (he was born on 26 October 1943), a researcher at the A. D. Xenopol Institute of History and Archeology in Iasi, recently published a basic book in the Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House. Not merely for himself, as a historian, but for our national historiography, for the history of the Romanian nation.

"Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries" sheds high-intensity light on the road traveled by Romanian society east of the Carpathians, starting with the first written mentions up to the construction of the independent feudal state.

I was in Iasi and met him at his desk, still busy with the same era, studying and summarizing a volume by Rene Grousset entitled "L'Empire des Steppes" (Attila, Gengis-Khan, Tamerlan), about which he is preparing yet another work. Also referring to Moldavia.

[Question] Why Moldavia, Victor Spinei? Why did the 11-14th centuries attract you from all the history of the province in which you were born, where you studied and remained to work?

[Answer] Simple! I am working in Iasi at the research institute whose reason is to study the history of Moldavia. This is one aspect; the second is that someone had to take the bull by the horns and study this very controversial era which, although it has not been ignored by other of our historians, since special works and even general articles based, however, on areas have appeared, required a study, a monograph intended to answer certain ideas, interpretations and arbitrary hypotheses, erroneous or contradictory, supported persistently and perseveringly in the specialty literature by certain historians, some even ill-intended, against historical reality. On the other hand, a lack was felt in knitting together an overall picture of the era in the entire Romanian space; for other of Romania's regions, monographs already had been written referring to the first half of the 2d century. There is a monograph for Transylvania by Academician Stefan Pascu, one for Maramures, the 14th century, by Radu Popa and also for the 14th century on the Romanian Country there is the monograph, splendidly scientific, by Dinu C. Giurescu. Somehow Moldavia remained an orphan.

[Question] What are those theories of the foreign historians, what do they sustain and with what arguments?

[Answer] First, denying the Dacian-Roman continuity north of the Danube, in the Eastern Carpathian-Nistria area. Reducing the role which the Romanian population had east of the Carpathians, going up to denying their presence in the particular zone, up to the point immediately preceding foundation of the feudal states. They assert the thesis of colonialization with the population coming from Transylvania. Another noxious theory is of those who see in the eastern Carpathian area just the Slavic, Turkish and Mongol populations. Also, some are attempting to accredit the idea that in the so-called "colonial" period Moldavia continually was under the political obedience to other surrounding states. In the context, the origin of formation of the Romanian feudal state is placed exclusively due to the Maramures colonialization. These are old theories, however they have continually been dug up by those interested to imposing their viewpoints, which not always have had scientific reasoning.

[Question] And, more recently, the political ones. We know that the first to assert them and impose them in European historiography was the German historian Robert Roesler in his work "Romanische Studien. Untersuchungen zur Alteren Geschichte Romaniens" ("Romanian Studies. Research into the Ancient History of the Romanians") which appeared in 1871 in Leipzig and which, again as we know, influenced entire pleiads of historians in Europe and across the ocean. In your opinion, can Romanian historians and historiography counteract the effect of these ideas, theses and theories in order to bring historical reality back to its rights?

[Answer] Even at the time when Roesler published his book, Xenopol raised his voice however his arguments were not too well articulated. Then, Parvan, then Dimitrie Onciul, then Iorga and Gheorghe Bratianu, historians of international prestige, with much more powerful arguments. Roesler threw on the scales of judgment his very broad arguments, both historical as well as linguistic, which require particularly broad analyses. Precisely from here we have the large number of those who debated his ideas, ideas which have followers even today, interposing their political goals and motivations. Because this problem of the Romanians' continuity in the northern Danube area has not remained just a scientific problem but it was and has remained a political problem. When Roesler formulated his theses, the act of union had been accomplished, Romanians were on the path to obtaining their state independence, while the Romanians in Transylvania more and more strikingly were asserting their desire for union with their brothers across the mountains. Whereas the political aspect of the Romanians' continuity on the territory of our country no longer can be current, it has remained in discussion in historiography. Insisting on the first part of the first millennium in the work, also having had studies abroad--I did a one-year study at the University of Saarbrucken, Germany--I remained surprised by the fact that a theory contradicted by data of science, by historical reality, still has an audience among certain representatives of historiographers. By telling you this, I am trying to pull the alarm for our historiography and this is not my first gesture in informing the legal forums. Regrettably I have not succeeded in rebuffing those who are hanging on to asserting these theories, although today we have infinitely more powerful arguments than Onciul, Iorga, Gheorghe Bratianu had in their times. I have in mind in particular the digs and archeological discoveries of the last 30 years.

[Question] And, yet, why do you feel we have not succeeded in making the proper rebuffs?

[Answer] Those asserting them publish very much in the languages which circulate internationally in various countries, particularly where there is a historiography of worldwide prestige, such as FRG, France, the United States and the USSR. We publish little or almost nothing in foreign languages. The few works which appear in this area are not doubled by translations or by special editions abroad. Not one of the monographs which I named above--and they really deserve it--also is translated into the widely-circulating languages. Our specialty book, although solidly written, is little known and represented in the libraries of the big world cultural centers; not even in Romanian, with the exception of those published in the Academy Publishers and some in the Kriterion Publishers. Looking for basic works written by Romanians in the big libraries in the FRG, I found very few and with passing summaries.

[Question] Yes, this is a little curious, since we have big libraries--the Academy, the Central State Library and the University Central Library--which have foreign relations sections and an exchange of books with libraries in many countries; we have an institute for cultural relations abroad and we also have the embassies' cultural representatives who could be more concerned, with the proper attention, with propagating and disseminating Romanian history books.

[Answer] And then our presence at international scientific meetings in the area are sporadic, so that the Romanian viewpoints find their way with difficulty.

[Question] Sometimes they find their way to us, the Romanians, with difficulty, too. I am speaking of the people, the citizens, not the specialists. I do not know whether the younger generations or the older ones know the last discoveries and ideas of historical research. For that reason, the party's secretary general had to give express indications, as he did in his speech at the 1-2 June plenum for reevaluating and reconsidering the study of the country's history in the schools and to emphasize the role of knowledge of this in the patriotic education of all citizens.

[Answer] I dare say that little history is being printed here in the country. Take the plans of any publisher and see how many history books are included. I would say, distressingly few.

[Question] Although, since the 9th party congress, in all the party speeches and party's program documents, the secretary general has drawn direct tasks for historians to work out basic works on the eras which have been studied less or which have been interpreted wrong and to reconsider critically the treasury of values of the past in this sector of science, too.

[Answer] The involved forces, in my opinion, are restricted compared with the countries around us. Appointments to the research institutes and branches have not been made for many years. I am almost 40 and still am among the youngest in the institute. This will create some difficulties with time. This hiatus between generations of researchers will have its say in time. The situation is not just in Iasi but the other centers, as well. Assignment of all graduates,

including the top ones and those trained for research who have been channeled along this road since college, in education, with a 3-year required stage, seems to me to be too rigid and detrimental to forming tomorrow's researchers. Torn from this specific work (I am speaking for history), many of those who represented hope give it up only to return after doing the stage. They forget what they have learned and they have all kinds of duties where they work. The years in which they could learn and master the study of paleography, several foreign languages and historical and archeological investigative techniques and methods are irreversibly lost.

[Question] We have moved far, very far from Moldavia of the 11-14th centuries. What does your work propose and demonstrate?

[Answer] The main purpose of the book is to show the role of the Romanian population in the Carpatho-Nistrian area, that is, all of Moldavia from that time. Since written sources are relatively restricted in information, sometimes even wrong in their meaning, I have combined historical information (which still exists) with archeological information, which is much more numerous. We have hundreds of signals of settlements and burial sites which are to be investigated. Actually, the archeological investigation is a productive and inexhaustible field. Given the fact that the Moldavian state was created late following founding of chancellery, the sources are foreign ones for the first centuries of the second millennium. A great part of these sources were discovered along the years and I have appealed to them, of course. Yet, I also found several--eastern and central European--which I succeeded in using in the book. Some Arab analysts (Baibars, an-Nuwairi) and central Europeans (Jochan von Wurtzman) mention the Romanians in the eastern Carpathian area, generally involved in struggles with the surrounding populations. Trifling statements but, end to end, they speak indubitably of the presence of the Romanian population as well as its organization and they show that the origin of the feudal state from the middle of the 14th century did not appear from thin air but from a previous organization. If we were to follow the written sources, we would have to admit that, from the demographic viewpoint, there is a small population; it did not have a large army. The populations of the surrounding states recorded political events of the big wars, attacks of the migrating populations, plunders which generally attracted attention. But the Romanians, being a people for whom the basic occupations were agriculture and raising cows, thus, a sedentary people through excellence, were less capable of stirring the interest of foreigners, particularly in the states where historiography was developing (Byzantium, in particular).

[Question] So, not nomad animal raisers or continually moving their flocks to the south, toward the Balkans, as some historians have asserted and still assert?

[Answer] Although archeology in Moldavia still has a lot to accomplish--I would say it is barely at the beginnings with regard to the prefeudal era--it still has recorded marked success. As I was saying, already several hundred settlements from the 11-14th centuries have been uncovered through field research, on the surface, while a consistent number of settlements and burial sites already have been investigated methodically by specialists, succeeding in defining both the features of the local population as well as those of the migrating populations. It is interesting to point out that, differing from the native population,

for whom the discoveries prove settlements and burial sites, for the invading steppe groups--just graves, thus strengthening the written sources according to which these nomad populations were living in carts and tents and with no stable settlements.

[Question] Actually you are an archeologist and, as such, you could synthesize and interpret rich material in this regard. Which of the archeological centers supplied you with the most interesting documents?

[Answer] The discoveries from Hlincea-Iasi, Raducaneni, Sendreni Batca Doamnei-Piatra Neamt, Birlalesti, Birlad, Baiceni, Brasauti, Hudum on the territory of our Moldavia as well as those of Orheiul Vechi, Costesti, Cetatea Alba, Hapsca, carried out by specialists from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia. First, one notes the placement of these settlements: in places favorable for agriculture and growing cows. At the same time we should mention the existence of homes, including in their inventory, in particular, tools and objects of household use. Tools, holes for provisions and various carbonized seeds (which could be analyzed) prove that agriculture was a basic occupation. This is the firmest retort for those foreign historians who have asserted that the Romanians adopted agriculture very late due to the influences of the surrounding peoples and that the main occupation was shepherds moving the flocks, with a seminomadic existence. The data I have given as well as some linguistic proof go against these assertions: Romanian agricultural terminology is of Latin origin for the most part. It is not adopted from the surrounding peoples as has been asserted; just some of the names for tools and secondary practices are of Slavic origin. On the other hand, osteologic analyses--material recovered through digs--indicate a diversification of animal breeds which were being raised and not a unilateralization, which could have given basis to the idea of raising animals in flocks, thus justifying the moving of flocks. This was a small number, for current needs, with the two occupations combining harmoniously. This characteristic actually was not zoned but is present all along the history and throughout the Romanian area. By drawing the features of the Romanian nature, this does not in any way mean that we have reduced the contribution of the migrating populations and alogenous groups established between the Carpathians, Danube and Nistru in the work. Differing from western and central Europe, where the big migrations ceased at the end of the first millennium, in the meridional zone of eastern Europe these migrations continued vigorously up until the Tatars and the coming of the Mongols (toward the middle of the 18th century), causing big disturbances in the ethnic-demographic aspect and the life and progress of the native population. This also explains the late foundation of the feudal state in this Romanian province and the delay in the progress of society life. As well as the attempts of the powerful surrounding states to seize the territory of the eastern Carpathians. I wanted to point out that the development of Romanian society was not rectilinear but, on the contrary, with certain contortions, even temporary regressions. The territory of Moldavia did not have an identical situation in its totality. The beneficial influences of Byzantium up to the 11th century, through adoption of superior trade techniques, were demonstrated, particularly in meridional Moldavia which, in exchange, starting with the second quarter of the particular century, bore a long string of invasions of Turanian tribes (Petchenegs, Cumans) and Mongols.

[Question] How does one explain the fact that the name of Cumania appears on the territory of Moldavia on some maps, reproduced with great frequency in some countries, in too many so-called scientific treatises?

[Answer] The term of Moldavia appears relatively late; in my opinion, it appears toward the middle of the 14th century. Earlier, the name of Wallachia was used for this region (that is, Romanian Country) just as for the remainder of the area inhabited by Romanians. Actually, the name of Wallachia for Moldavia coexisted for a number of neighbors for a long time, for the entire Middle Ages (for Poland, for example). Also one must mention that the eastern Carpathian regions were given names coming from ethnonymy by some researchers and cartographers (as, for example, Patinakia (from Petchenegs), Brodnica and Cumania, according to the name of the tribes which held military control over certain zones of Moldavia temporarily.

[Question] But where does the name of Moldavia come from?

[Answer] Only a restricted region was hiding under this toponym, one which took the name of the hydronym from the northwestern portion, from the water of the Moldavia which flows into the Siret. It seems the hydrographic reservoir of the Moldavia River was the initial nucleus from which the feudal state was born. It is supposed that the first capital was in the city of Baia, where today relevant archeological digs are being carried out. The term extended--a frequent case in history--also for other portions of the world (from Rome, one arrived at the Romanian Empire, just to give the most famous example).

[Question] If northwestern Moldavia was the nucleus from which the feudal state began with its ages of flourishing and well-known glories, what is the truth and what is the myth in the story of its foundation? Again a territory of controversies, from some historiographers, and of the malicious or tendentious interpretations from some historians.

[Answer] As a concept it appeared in the Moldavian chronicles which combined an ancestral legend connected with the cult of the bison and with certain medieval political realities. "The colonialization" is not just a simple myth. The first prince of the Moldavian feudal state was an insurgent Maramures man against the oppressing Hungarian crown. But, despite this, the colonialization cannot be interpreted as a simple transfer of population from one side of the Carpathians to the other. If Bogdan, who was undesirable for Hungarian rule, could have been able to confront and defeat the armies of Ludwig d'Anjou of Hungary, he would have remained in his areas in Maramures and would not have come to Moldavia. However, in Moldavia there was a state of spirit against the Hungarian attempts to extend its domination to the east of the Carpathians, but Bogdan did nothing but ally himself with these local forces. Establishment of a state cannot be explained except through a secular evolution, an internal evolution of all aspects of life--demographic, economic, cultural.

[Question] But political?

[Answer] Little is known and it is presumed that unions of communities existed which united with time. In this process of establishment of the feudal state,

the local inhabitants had to encounter great external difficulties: the south-eastern portion of Moldavia was under the rule of the state created by the Mongols--the Golden Horde--while the remainder of the territory was desired by Angevine Hungary, which undertook many expeditions east of the Carpathians, even succeeding for a small territory to enter under its control, even with the aid of certain Romanian elements in Maramures, headed by Dragos, who collaborated with the Hungarian crown.

The territory and the period I selected for the subject of investigation still hold mysteries and I am aware that what I have achieved is not the final point but merely the recording of a current stage of research, which is improvable.

[Question] And one which you can complete and improve on yourself, Victor Spinei. So the normal question follows: what are you working on and what other projects do you have?

[Answer] Currently I am working on the book entitled "Native and Migrant in Southern Moldavia in the 11-13th Centuries," centuries peak in invasions, a book which proposes to develop ideas which were set forth but developed in the first book and to bring into discussion some original or quasi-original material. Some archeological sources which have not been published and some narrative sources which permit a colored analysis of relations between the native and allogens. Some of the archeological sources are our own discoveries (in Grivita-Birlad, Grozesti-Husi) and others are in collections in the museums in Moldavia and have not been utilized. These themes of the big invasions even today are enjoying great interest in European historiography and proof is the large number of studies on them. At the basis of this concern is a hidden thought which I shall reveal: interesting someone in a problem of European attraction, I could capture a sphere of interest for a problem of Romanian historiography, too. Another project: an edition of Gheorghe Bratianu's remarkable book, "La Mer Noire," in Romanian which appeared in Munich in French, a work which is a broad synthesis of Romanian history in the European context from antiquity up to the Middle Ages. As a historian Bratianu was and is an authority at the international level and it is too bad that his thinking and contributions to our history are being reevaluated so late. His works are of a high scientific level and more current than ever. It is good that one was published last year, with a remarkable preface, by Valeriu Rapeanu, which reinstated his scientific rights. Interesting, from a literary figure and not a historian! Gheorghe Bratianu is one of the greatest specialists in medieval history and nobody treating the subject of this period--and not just the history of Romania but of Byzantium, of the Genoa colonies and other zones--can ignore his works. One must bear mind that some of those who do not share the ideas of our historiography are publishing an impressive quantity of literature and are hardly waiting for us not to make use of and make an exact appeal to the Romanians' works, which have had and have international prestige and following.

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